1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

251 During the rainy season the seed of the chigua is gathered. It is crushed, toasted, and stored in small quantities in the same way as the changuango, provided, of course, that a spot is found high enough to keep it dry.

Social Organization and Social Customs

596 616 622 791 554 Economically the family hunting group is the basic unit, as has been shown in the previous chapter. In social matters, however, it is the moiety. Each family hunting group recognizes a headman and each moiety recognizes a chief who in all cases is the shaman. Both of these positions of authority are acquired only through personal merit. There is no inheritance of chieftainship or shamanism. If the nephew of a headman shows ability he may inherit his uncle's position, and theoretically this is the scheme. In natural practices we find that not only the Yaruros but perhaps a great many other primitive peoples are very realistic and are loath to give authority to an individual whose personality does not stand for leadership.

616 428 Every Yaruro is born in either the "Itciai" or "Puaná" moiety. Descent, with its social affinities, prerogatives, and obligations, being traced through the female line, the child belongs to its mother's moiety. Nothing is inherited from the father, who belongs to the other moiety, except obligations.

616 773 There is a legend among the Yaruros that two young men not finding any marriageable girls among their own people mated with the Jaguar and with the Snake. From these two unions are descended the two moieties. Since only among animals do brothers and sisters mate it has become a rule that two descendants of the Jaguar, "Itciai", cannot marry with each other; nor can two descendants of the Snake, "Puaná", marry with each other. They must seek a mate from the other group. Thus an "Itciai" must always marry a "Puaná", and vice versa. Cross-cousin marriage solves this problem.

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In this system, therefore, a man's children belong to his wife's moiety, from which he is socially excluded. His sister's children, on the other hand, are socially close to him since they too inherit moiety membership from their mother which is the same as his own. Deprived of his own children to carry on his traditions, a man looks to his sister's children to take their place. It is his nephews who will help him in hunting, who will come to his defence, who will take care of him in old age. As if in payment of such attention he gives them his daughters in marriage. Thus his sisters' sons become his sons-in-law.

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621 596 Yaruro society is built around the hunting group, which in numbers is never stable. The hunt and the gathering of food such as roots and fruits calls for a certain amount of cooperative effort, but

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

SHAMANISM

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Prerequisites to successful shamanism are temperament, knowledge, and experience. It has often been stressed by field investigators that in matters of religion, as in matters of artistic expression, only certain types of personalities can achieve any success. In the case of the Yaruros, by temperament is meant the inclination and desire to become a shaman which perhaps is reducible to other factors of personality, and a neurotic make-up which will permit the tyro to experience religious phenomena. Since there is no set test which has to be passed in order to be recognized as a shaman the pretender can try to achieve recognition by his people until his very death, but if he lacks the necessary temperament his attempt is hopeless. A

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shaman must have knowledge above that of his fellow tribesmen. He must know and understand thoroughly the history of his people and their mythology, he must be able to solve and settle ethical points that may come up on the basis of ancestral customs, he must know all the medicinal practices of his people, and the magical also. In short, he must be a savant and a leader, a person who will be morally respected. This knowledge he can acquire only through experience. The Yaruros say that he must acquire it through personal teaching from the gods, not through an intermediary but in actuality he learns, of course, from the older shamans whose place he will take eventually and from the rest of his people. He is supposed to sing behind a shaman for many years before he can hold performances of his own.

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He must, of course, learn all the tricks of the trade, though by this is not implied that the shaman is conscious of practicing any legerdemain among his people, but there is a certain ceremonial pattern which must be mastered by the neophyte and which can only be mastered by practice over a long period of time. For instance, in singing there are undoubtedly a number of standardized songs, but what is more important is to learn the musical pattern and the pattern of phraseology that must be fitted to the music. Since in a shamanistic performance the shaman does not sing set songs but spontaneous ones which he composes, or as the Yaruros claim the gods compose, and sing through the shaman, it is essential that he have many years of experience. The importance of this is fully understood when it is considered that the shaman must sing without any pause or hesitation some six thousand stanzas in the course of a night's performance, varying his tune and words again and again. It seems reasonable to suppose that there must be form given to such performances which can be mastered by one following closely the performances of a particular shaman.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

791 Shamanism is not socially inherited, but we may suspect that biologically it is in many cases. There is no attempt made to train any particular child for shamanism except that naturally those children who stand in a close relationship to the current shaman, such as sons, daughters, neices, and nephews, have a better chance to take up the profession than others, from their daily close association with the only person from whom they can learn. The performances are never secret and the children are permitted to be present until they are too tired and go to sleep. As they grow older they will tend to participate in the performances to a greater extent until they are able to stay up all night and take their proper place in adult society. Naturally among the children some will be attracted to singing and dancing with their elders more than others and these will tend to place themselves as close to the shaman as they can until they are of such age that they can be of actual assistance to him, when, if they make known their interest in becoming a shaman they may even become his understudies or disciples. One of them who shows the greatest interest and the greatest ability in singing, in remembering details and dancing, and a shamanistic temperament will always take his place behind the shaman and will take the lead in repeating the stanzas of the songs composed by him. Gradually he may attempt 791 554 shamanistic performances of his own and gather followers as he is successful in obtaining religious experience. It is not uncommon to see a young man sitting on the sands facing east and to the east of the camp, at night, singing to himself and alone. Sometimes he has one or two others singing behind him, depending on his prestige. It is, of course, his great hope that some day he will be so successful as to win the approbation and confidence of the people, which will depend on his success with the gods themselves.

791 787 157 The shaman must be a rather highly imaginative type. The only way he can impress his people with his knowledge and experience is to visit and see the abode of the gods and ancestors and to be able to describe these in words and in song and graphically with etchings on gourd rattles, so that unless the performer is of such a temperament that he can live through such experiences he can never become a shaman. Nor is there any opportunity for the one who will pretend having had such experiences, for naturally tribal tradition patterns are a constant check on him and his visions must necessarily conform to those had by other shamans; nor can he pretend to have visions of the particular type since he has the entire body of people as his severe critics and any inconsistency will be immediately seen to his discredit. Actually, I do not think there is ever any pretense. In the first place, we must remove the suggestion that there is material gain to flow from attaining the position of shaman. The shaman is an

1: Petrullo E-8 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

ordinary citizen, receiving no compensation except the respect given to an old man and a moral teacher. In the second place, shamanism is a lifetime activity, and it would seem improbable that one would create such a life for himself which he would have to live until death if he were not suited to it. I saw cases of men who were striving to be shamans, some young and some old, with great regret admitting that they could not see the religious visions that others more successful had seen. In a primitive society such as that of the Yaruros, where life values are simple and evident to every one, where the intimacy existing between its members is thorough, there is very little incentive and very little opportunity for pretense.

Landaeta, my chief informant among the shamans, claimed that he did not remember the specific events that he "dreams" when he sang and that he could not sing during the day, nor could he remember the songs. He himself had to be told by the others what happened during a shamanistic performance. Thus he could tell me neither the words nor the tunes. I had to wait for another performance to try to take down both. Since the words were conversations between the shaman and the spirit forces, and thus varied at each performance, he was right. Yet there is a musical pattern and undoubtedly a word pattern also.

In the matter of making the sacred objects, he claimed that only those who have "dreamed", have had religious experience, can make them. Thus he himself was carving the rattles, and claimed that no one else among his people could carve them. Some, like his nephew and son-in-law Juan Garcia, were learning.

At Landaeta's death probably the shaman will be either Brigido Tovar, his son, or Juan Garcia, his nephew and son-in-law. Legend favors the son, but Landaeta looks to Garcia. However, it is the son who sang behind the shaman in this case, but Garcia has had religious experiences already.

Landaeta himself claims that he sang behind his uncle for a long time without a moracca. Finally he had a "dream" and he was permitted to use a moracca. This religious experience is absolutely necessary to a future shaman.

That the shaman follows certain patterns of song, ritual, dream, and revelation is quite certain, and it is these patterns that are transmitted to the neophyte. Both dreams and revelations always have some bearing on current problems, and in fact attempt to solve these problems.

During a shamanistic performance the first songs describe the journey of the shaman's soul to the Land of Kuma. Upon reaching the desired land the shaman shakes his rattle violently and the songs

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

535 791 with the stamping of the right foot on the off-beat, but whenever the shaman is giving a really good performance his whole body responds to the dance and he may shake as violently as the rattle in his hand. His people may also throw themselves into a dance, making a series of jerky movements, bending from the waist downward and up again.

533 539 One of the typical songs of Kuma was a greeting to me. She said:

> Greetings, man, greetings. Your wife is waiting. She is not dead, nor is she sick, but she is thinking that her husband has been away so long that perhaps he is dead. She is good and loves her husband who is sick, which is good. But it is good that he is with me (Kuma speaking) and with my people. He is a good man. He gives me a cigar. I shall give him a horse when he is born again in my (Kuma) land. I shall give him much silver when he is born again in Kuma Land. I love him, the good man, and I shall love him in my land. In the other land, my land, he gave me drink like you my people. Like you my people, everyone will come to my land, the Yaruro land.

FEMALE SHAMANISM

791 787 554 776 It proved impossible to learn much about those things in which the women are chiefly or exclusively interested. The shamans seem to be as influential among both sexes as the men are, and they seem to acquire their power and prestige through dreams or revelations in the same way as the male shamans do. In the case of the women it seems that India Rosa must appear in a dream rather than Kuma. In the legends it is India Rosa who taught the women the various arts and crafts, so in shamanism she is the chief spiritual power. During the day, both Kuma and India Rosa are pictured as resting in their hammocks. Because of that the women shamans sing sitting in their hammocks, swaying back and forth, during the day. Apparently it is believed that by imitating the picture of Kuma and India Rosa they can reach the two spiritual forces more easily. These shamans never perform at night, although they will sing with the male shaman when the latter is giving a performance.

535 791 534 The gourd rattle seems to be an instrument which only the shamans can use with immunity and as a means of conversing with Kuma. The women do not have these rattles. Their singing is done unaccompanied by any musical instrument or by any dancing. Dancing is performed only at night, when it is led by the male shaman.

609 123 The nature of the visions experienced by the female shamans remained unknown to me. As has been mentioned before, social intercourse between man and woman, unless closely related by blood or marriage, is prohibited. It is a social taboo which apparently is never violated and which no amount of bribery could break down. It seemed best to respect this custom, even though it were at the expense of remaining ignorant of many phases of Yaruro culture practiced by the women. So, in the case of shamanism, although the

622 [191 177] Most direct commands, in so far as I was able to observe, were made in Spanish![4] — essentially in acculturation contexts. In general, they concerned village care, small services, and the like. No occasion was observed of commanding older men, except for a married youth of 19, who was the youngest adult male in the village. The two or three commands [illegible] received during my stay went unnoticed, and, in one or two instances, were even directly contravened. The capitans of the Cinaruco river group and of Palmarito de Guachara both consistently complained that no one paid enough attention to them, and the Palmarito chief complained that he never was kept [571] sufficiently informed of events by his people. The fact is that people do pretty much as they choose in all important decision-making situations which do not involve the community at large, or the relationship of some member of the community or the entire group to outsiders.[5] In the former situation, the chief serves as a consultative funnel through which the community discussion pours back and forth until the community achieves some clear but unstated consensus upon which 622 community members can act, individually of course. Only in the situations dealing 648 with outside groups does the Yaruro capitanship emerge as a more developed [554] status which might metaphorically be described as a position similar to that of a minister of foreign relations. In behalf of his group, he talks with any representatives of outside groups, especially if they are non-Yaruro, and acts as gatherer of information and as channel of communication between the community and the outside entity. Even this is weakened, however, since it applies more by courtesy than by fact among the Yaruro themselves, and other members of the community may perform the same function even if to a somewhat smaller degree. It is also weakened in that no Yaruro is prevented from acting on his own with respect to non-Yaruro outsiders, and, in fact, many Yaruro do establish their own relationships with outsiders as a number of instances attested. Indeed, the rights of the individual members of the society to make their own decisions, at least internally if not also [682] externally, is insisted on. In one instance, a chief who took it upon himself to

[4] Commands and other stress situations, which generally appear to be uncongenial to the Yaruro and more overt as the people have been more subject to acculturation, seem to elicit from the Yaruro Spanish responses rather than Yaruro ones. It is as though it [578] were not fitting to utter commands or express anger in Yaruro. Thus, the few times [152] noisy altercation was heard among the Cinaruco Yaruro, the language used was Spanish. [191] The chief's commands and his overt anger were always expressed in Spanish, even if he had just before been speaking in Yaruro. Though anger may often be felt, it is not shown if the participants are expressing themselves in Yaruro. Thus, the chief scolded one of the village boys for riding one of the recently acquired burros — in Spanish; he ordered a 19-year old young man to do some task — in Spanish; he complained of the actions of one of the village elders in taking on the job of guide without first consulting him (though he would certainly have permitted it) — in Spanish.

[5] Cf. Leeds, 1960 a, with respect to the place of individual action in Yaruro society. [181 114] Though there is individual action, choice, and responsibility, these are all carried out as an aspect of community organization and essentially with community affirmation. A person is not an individual set in counterpoint to his society — there is no polarity of individual-society, as we, in our culture, generally seem to conceive. Individualism in the latter sense does not exist among the Yaruro. The Yaruro should not be mistaken for an individualistic culture, as, I suspect, several of the cultures described as individualistic in Mead, 1937, should not have been.

represent his people to the outside world without consultation and to make arbitrary decisions for them inside the community — mainly in his own interest — was, with the consent of the community, assassinated by one of the members, now in excellent standing in that community as a respected shaman. The chief in question had stepped beyond the bounds designated for his status. In sum, the position of chief, even though formally recognized by Yaruro society and reinforced by formal recognition and appointment by Venezuelan authorities, is feeble as an institution and as a status.[6] It is our hypothesis that ecological conditions of Yaruro life determine the form of the chieftainship in such a way that its stronger institutionalization would be impossible, and we turn to this question now.

III

Yaruro subsistence activities[7] comprise swiddening, gathering, pig herding, hunting and fishing, mentioned in the order of their importance as contributors to the total food supply as measured in calories.[8] Horticulture probably provides 60—70% of the total annual food supply. The horticulture practiced is characteristic of tropical forest slash-and-burn gardens, with a slow rotation of plots in order to permit soil renewal and weed control. Trees are cut, at present with steel axes and formerly, apparently, with axes of bone or shell, and then burnt. Occasional fences are roughly made of the logs to keep out pigs. Bitter manioc (*Manihot utilissima*),[9] in several varieties, is the main crop, though sweet manioc (*Manihot aipi*), also in several varieties, is planted too, as are corn, bananas, sugar cane — each in several varieties — and a number of lesser crops such as melons, squashes, pumpkins, pineapples, sweet potatoes, and yautia or ocumo (*Xanthosoma sagittifolium*). Crops are planted with a digging stick which may also be used in harvesting. Gardens are weeded, once only, early in the growth of the crops. Other than clearing, the only soil preparation is the construction of hills for planting bananas. This is done by burning hills made by a certain species of ants (*huachaquero*). The hills, which are quite wide and low, are filled with organic matter enriching the soil.[10] Harvesting is aided with baskets for carrying the crops. Baskets contain about half a bushel or less. No fertilization, no terracing, no drainage, no irrigation, no extensive turning of the soil is done.

The gathered resources include a number of roots, particularly changuango, changuanito, and guapo (*Maranta arundinacea*);[11] varied fruits, especially that of

[6] Professor Benjamin N. Nelson informs me that in medieval Spain, village communities had an official, also called *capitan*, whose function was to treat with state functionaries representing the world beyond the village community's frontier. It is possible that the Yaruro capitan, and many others in Venezuela, are an acculturative transfer of this office to tribal groups. In the case of the Yaruro, this would have happened some 250—300 years ago.

[7] The use, here, of the terms 'activity', 'tasks', 'techniques', 'tools', 'resources', and 'habitat' corresponds to the definitions given in Leeds, 1960 b.

[8] Cf. Leeds, 1961, which gives this data in detail and describes the habitat and horticulture *in extenso*.

[9] Native terms for these crops are given *ibid.*

[10] *Ibid.*, note 9, contains data on soil values.

[11] Identifications are from Pittier, 1926.

and then shooting into the still side pools of a stream into which he has driven a post with bait attached. He may also stand in a canoe to shoot. It is reported, though I have not myself seen it, that barbasco (*Jacquinia revoluta* or *mucronulata*) poison is used by some Yaruro.[12] No nets, weirs, traps, sweeps, or artificial fish pools are used.

Given the techniques and tools of the Yaruro, all the subsistence activities described can conveniently be done by one person. Some *must* be done by one person only, since the tools and techniques themselves do not permit two or more persons to operate jointly. As it were, the logic of the tools and techniques concerned demands utilization by single persons.[13] Some of the tools and techniques might conveniently involve two or more persons, e. g. lashing tree trunks together to make a fence or cornering a capybara, but do not definitively *require* more than one person. Activities of all sorts may be done by aggregates of persons, each utilizing his own tools and techniques individually but neither the activity, the tools nor the techniques entail the aggregation of individuals. Thus, from the point of view of human organization, the technology, by itself, entails no managerial functions, no coordination of tasks which must be overseen by someone occupying an appropriately defined status.[14] That is, there are no technologically determined positions of leadership in Yaruro society. Further, the technology as such entails no significant cooperation in work organization, even when this is convenient, and correspondingly, no standard work groups or management functions, as represented in some defined status, for facilitating cooperation are to be expected or to be found. In fact, Yaruro technology and resource distribution are such as to elicit considerable dispersion of activities and actors at any given time of work, and to inhibit the development of rank and the personal acquisition of superordinating prestige.

IV

We may now examine the habitat aspect of the ecological relationship. A clearly marked annual cycle occurs in the Yaruro habitat.[15] However, despite a sharp seasonal change from heavy rains up to 60 inches in one half of the year to almost

[12] Personal communication from Mr. Thomas Rootes who has studied Yaruro linguistics for a number of months, having visited several groups.

[13] Different kinds of tools require different kinds of organization. A simple hand saw can be used by only one person at a time. A logging saw, though it can awkwardly be used by one person, is surely best used by two persons. Certain other saws, e. g. jig saws, make up one of a series of machine processes on a single part of a product, the entire series being the unit of operation which requires a still more complex level of organization. Cf. Leeds, 1960 b.

[14] For the structure of argument which is involved here, see Leeds, 1960 b.

[15] 'Habitat' here refers to all physical objects and conditions of the environment which are relevant to the existence or production of resources as defined by the culture. For the most part, then, 'habitat' refers to those environmental conditions such as humidity, temperature, insolation, rainfall, etc., which affect the food supply, as well as the food and water available for animals and plants and other culturally relevant physical objects. By extension, it refers to daily, seasonal, annual, and long-term variations and cycles in the various relevant factors of the environment, whether climatic, geologic, or biotic, which affect any of these supplies.

Gathered resources are found near the streams in marshy places where the moriche palm grows, and to a lesser extent in the savannas.[17] The dry season resources are also distributively located though the pattern is somewhat different. Quanta of production from these resources at any one time are rarely great. The larder, as it were, must be filled from a number of sources at once, even though one crop, particularly bitter manioc, and occasionally sweet manioc and corn, may rise briefly to as much as 50 or 60% of the food supply. Thus the available quanta of resources and their distribution at given moments in time are such as to demand a distributive form of labor organization: workers, as individuals or in very small groups, must go off in different directions at the same time. The obverse of this, of course, is that no sizable or permanent working groups are to be expected and none in fact occur. Further, because a dispersion of the labor force and a constant flux in the constitution of work groups is entailed by the relationships between the technology and the habitat, organized and permanent managerial functions can scarcely occur, and no fixed status with significant managerial powers would be expected. The observed data of leadership among the Yaruro and many other tribes in South America and other parts of the world, such as Melanesia, having fundamentally similar ecologies, corresponds precisely with what one is led to expect logically from the form of the ecology.

The absolute size of work groups achievable in the Yaruro habitat is limited not only by the dispersed locations and temporal harvest patterns of resources, but also by the absolute productivity of the ecology. If one calculates the distribution per land area of those calories potentially convertible to human energy, the rate of calories per unit of land surface is so low that even at maximum utilization only a very low population density of about 2 persons per square mile would be possible. If concentrated in the center of an effective walking distance for exploiting resources of, say, six miles radius from a village, with a resultant total area of about 110 square miles, there would be about 220 souls. Of these, perhaps 70% (all persons over age 10), at maximum, might constitute the labor force, i. e. 154 adults and older children. The actual conditions are, of course, much more limiting, since the efficiency of the technology is such that it cannot exploit the totality of calories potentially available for conversion to human energy at any one time.[18] The actually harvested calories are considerably less, though I have no estimates as to how much less. Let us estimate half, or enough to support one person per square mile, that is, 110 persons. With a somewhat smaller per cent of the population available for the labor force, say 60% of the 110, the force would have only about 67 persons at most. This appears to be a reasonable number for the Cinaruco Yaruro groups, although due to depopulation from disease and mas-

[17] *Ibid.*, Map I.
[18] *Ibid.*, Map II.
[19] For example, all the fish available in the streams at a given time cannot be caught. More could be caught with an improved technology, such as the use of fish traps, weirs, or fish poisons, which, as we have said, are absent from the technology of the Cinaruco Yaruro. Density of fish, or any other biotic population, can be estimated (cf. Dice, 1952, Ch. IV), and then compared with rates of harvesting. Furthermore, it should be noted that often the totality of an actually harvested resource may not be available. For example, in

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make it usable. The need to eat makes woman's work more or less continuous, while the nature of production does not make man's work continuous. As long as there is food in the village, the man may rest, help his wife, or engage in non-food production such as canoe-making, as he chooses. [461]

Objects used by men are men's property and are inherited by the men; objects used by women are women's property and are inherited in the women's line. Immovable property such as gardens and houses are said to be inherited by the decedent's children of both sexes. Male animals, such as boars and dogs, are owned by men, the females by women. Thus the division of property is as sharp as the division of labor, a fact reflected throughout the ideology. 428 [422] [231]

No two producers produce the same quantity or inventory of goods, especially as each has great freedom to concentrate in the productive activities he prefers to the exclusion of others. Yet each producer contributes to household and community in what is felt to be equivalent value since most foods are considered good and of equal worth. Each household producing unit distributes supplies of raw or cooked foods to other households along the lines of coresidence and kinship. In this way, all villagers, as consumers, receive the same total amount of food and no one goes without. Thus all persons and households in the community are equivalent as producers, distributers, and consumers. All are tied together in a loosely formalized network of coordinate reciprocal exchanges and obligations in which scales of value are not necessary, since each person contributes approximately equally of all values. In this situation, accumulation of wealth by individuals is out of the question and management of production or of wealth distribution is unnecessary. Consequently, there are no economic status differentiations and no effective leadership among the Yaruro. 433 592 621 [435] [556] [554] [622]

Similarly, no purely social differentiations based on status ranking occur in Yaruro society, except by casual deference to those of age and experience like shamans and village spokesmen, called 'capitans'. The status of women is coordinate with that of men. The complementary and coordinate units, a man and a woman, combine into a series of coordinate but semi-autonomous units, the households. A group of these constitute the Yaruro social unit, the neither endogamous nor exogamous (Murdock's "agamous") village. All these units are tied together by links of bilaterally traced kinship, with coordinate relations on both sides, the ultimate tie being the reciprocal marriage of cross-cousins. Marriage is ideally matrilocal, and occurs most frequently within the village. As a consequence, the most immediate kinship ties in the village are matrilateral, whereas kinship among the men is more diffuse. The villages themselves are tied together by kinship ties, real or imputed, as well as by marriage and visiting, but by no other ties of an all-tribal nature. People who are known to any particular village —to 'us'— are considered part of our village's family, since their kinship ties to our members can be discovered or invented freely. Persons recognized as being of our linguistic and cultural stock will be included under the general term *pumé*, but may not be considered 'of our family' unless the kinship ties are recognized. Thus there is a Yaruro people, but no Yaruro tribal unit. Even the persons included in 'our family' do not constitute a unit, since there are no cross village unifying institutions other than real or imputed bilateral kinship ties. Even these vary from 554 621 [562] [592] 621 [612] [602] [619] [612]

4: Leeds E-5 (1958) 1960 SS19 Yaruro SS19

the community may do the shaman's work if he chooses, just as any can travel to the other-world or commune with the gods, although, because of age, temperament, or individual taste, not every one does so. There were, in fact, two shamans among the nine men of the writer's village, as well as a number of men who cured and who occasionally sang verse intonations in the *tonghés* although they were not shamans. The shamans are no more than respected community members outside the ceremony. Here again we observe the egalitarianism and individual self-determinism which is so much a pattern of this culture.

The *tonghé* also clearly shows the relationships which prevail between men and gods. The shamans and the other adults of the village converse with the gods in great mutual respect. They do not manipulate them nor minister to them, nor implore them. Before the gods, they are in a position corresponding to active and adept junior members of the village before their elders and especially their lineal ascendants. Furthermore, in a very real sense, no individual person, *qua* person, deals with the gods. The community, with its religious catalyst, the shaman, is the unit of action. The only individual relations with the gods occur in dreams, unconsciousness, and death. Dreams about gods are made public by singing aloud in sleep, the experience of unconsciousness is recounted publicly, and death, too, becomes public because the dead man is accessible through the *tonghés*.

The directness of contact between man and gods again emphasizes the unity of cosmos, society, and man. Within this unity, the sharp division of a male sphere from a female sphere is found. These quite coordinate spheres, in the other-worlds as in the hither-world, in religion as in socio-economic life, are linked through the household.

In conclusion, I would like briefly to review the major dimensions of Yaruro ideology. We may state these as a set of propositions, each presenting a major dimension of the ideology.

1. Cosmic structure. *The cosmos is static, limited, concrete, and internally continuous in that no barriers separate man and his society in the physical world from the nonphysical world.* The parts of the universe together form a rather rigid, symmetrical, architectonic structure, although each individual Yaruro may vary the description of the whole to suit his particular taste. All parts are of roughly coordinate importance. The major motions of nature, such as thunder and lightning, the revolutions of sun and moon, are often embodied, personalized, and independently operating entities, moved by semi-human motivations.

2. The good. *Goodness inheres generally in the cosmos as a system. The goodness manifests itself in understood causes and concretely and describably known parts of the cosmos which, whether places, persons, or things, are given exact locations.* Conversely all known and localizable objects, persons, or places and understood causes are generally good.

3. The not-good. *Evil, which is not polar to good, finds its locus in specific persons, things, or events inside or outside the cosmos, and is manifest in specific results. The underlying causes of evil, however, are inac-*

6:Le Besnerais--13k E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
U	?	Lagunota	Traversed by Raymond Fiasson (36) in 36. See "infra" IV List...21 and 22. Nov./Dec. 1946. At sources of the Náure.
V	?	?	On the Caño Amarillo
W	Alfonso (reputed a thief)	Ceiba	At sources of the Macanillita
Between the Capanaparo and Riecito Rivers:			
X	Nicolás	?	On the right bank of the Capanaparo between communities No. 22 and 23.

No. of Comm.	Name of Chief	Name of Site of Community	Remarks on Sites
Y	Padrón (reputed a thief)	?	At the sources of the Caño Perro de Agua.
Z	?	Moriche	Near a lagoon and not far from community no. 28.
Between the Riecito and Cinaruco Rivers:			
AA	Pablo and José Losa Cardona (other name cited: Leyi)	Reicero	On a dune located at the sources of the Cinarucquito, the Cinaruco, or the Riecito, or near the Cinaruquito and 1/2 day's travel on foot from the right bank of the Riecito or one day by canoe (up to the Paso Reicero) from the Boca del Riecito.
AB	Nicolás	?	

6:Le Besnerais--13L E-5 (1947-1950) 1962 SS19 Yaruro SS19